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Edward Stuart

Glasgow

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THE
HISTORY OF
PRINCE CHARLES
EDWARD STUART,
COMMONLY CALLED THE
PRETENDER.



GLASGOW •

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

THE RIVER OF LIFE

BY JAMES C. WILSON

THE LIFE OF
PRINCE CHARLES STUART
COMMONLY CALLED THE
PRETENDER.

PRINCE CHARLES STUART, commonly called the PRETENDER, was born at Rome, on the 20th. of December, 1720. When he had attained the age of seven years he was placed under the tuition of an Irish Gentleman. of the name of Sheridan, a Roman Catholic. And as he advanced in years he not only displayed an unusual vivacity of spirit, but also manifested a great genius formed for Military tactics. When about the age of fourteen, he was present at the Siege of Gieta, where he behaved so well, though only a youth, as fully justified the high opinion held of his courage and intrepidity.

This interesting young Prince, after signalizing himself at many engagements, by the war which broke out on the Continent, upon the election of a new Emperor, in the room of Charles

the VI. In some of which battles he was one of the foremost in charging the enemy, and the last who left the field. He returned to Rome.

About the year 1744. Prince Charles having sworn allegiance to the Pope; was invited by the French Monarch to Paris, where he was greatly caressed by the French Ministry, and told of the vast preparations making in France to assist him to recover the British Crown.

The Regency of England, for the King was then at Hanover, being informed that Charles was about to make a descent in Scotland, issued a proclamation, promising a reward of 30,000l. to any person who should seize and secure the eldest son of the Pretender, in case he should land or attempt to land in any of his Majesty's dominions. Charles also issued a proclamation of the like nature, offering the same reward, to seize and secure King George, whom he called an usurper.

As soon as Charles landed, he went to the house of Mr. M^c Donald, of Kinloch Moidart, from which he wrote to the adjacent clans, to acquaint them of his arrival. Upon this Cameron of Lochiel went to wait upon him, but he refused to arm his clan, until Charles could produce in writing, the resolution of the King of France, to assist and support him with a proper number of forces. Being satisfied on this point, he summoned his

clan, and erected Charles' standard with this motto, "Tandem Triumphans :" Triumphing at last.

When the news of Charles' arrival was spread abroad, the chiefs who had been previously informed of it, and who concurred in his scheme, soon repaired to his standard. When he had got a sufficient number to make the appearance of an army, he marched with them to within a mile of Fort-William, and there encamped. Having increased his forces to the number of about two thousand, he marched forward to a hill, about six miles distant from Fort Augustus, and being informed that General Cope was coming to attack him, he waited with a resolution of hazarding an engagement; but the General, either distrusting his own strength, or for some other reason, proceeded to Aberdeen, where he embarked his army on board some ships, which transported it to Dunbar, where he landed.

On the 30th of August Charles arrived at Blair, the residence of the Duke of Athol, upon which that nobleman and several gentlemen of the county of Fife retired to Edinburgh. After this he proceeded to Perth, Dumblain, and Stirling, and on the 16th of September encamped with his army at Gray's Mill, about two miles from Edinburgh, where some of the magistrates

waited on him to treat concerning a capitulation. In the mean time one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it without opposition. Next morning the whole army entered, Charles took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood House, and having caused his father to be proclaimed at the market cross, ordered a manifesto to be read, in which the Chevalier declared his son Regent of his dominions, and promised to redress all the grievances of Scotland.

During these transactions, Sir John Cope began his march towards Edinburgh, to give the rebel army battle, and on the 20th of the month encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston Pans with all his troops, amounting to nearly three thousand men. Early next morning he was attacked by Charles, at the head of about the same number of Highlanders, who charged sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes the King's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion, and the General Officers, after some unsuccessful efforts to rally their men, retreated towards Coldstream on the Tweed. Never was a victory perhaps obtained at a smaller expence: only fifty of the rebels lost their lives, while five

hundred of the opposite party were killed on the spot, and among these the brave colonel Gardiner who fell greatly lamented.

Charles's followers encreasing every day, and several of the highland chiefs, encouraged by his success, beginning to exert themselves in his cause, he resolved to make an irruption into England, which he did on the 6th. of November, having by that time collected an army of about five thousand man. Carlisle was the first place he invested, which surrendered in less than three days, and here his father was proclaimed King of Great Britain, and himself Regent, by the Magistrates in all their formalities. General Wade being informed of his progress across the country as far as Hexam, but receiving intelligence there that Carlisle was reduced, he returned to his former station. Orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier; but Charles notwithstanding this opposition, determined to proceed. Leaving therefore a small garrison in Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the highland dress, and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston, to Manchester, where, on the 29th of the month, he established his head quarters, and was joined by about 200 Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under colonel

Townly. His supposed intention was to pursue his way through Chester to Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents; but all the bridges on the river Mersey being broken down, he choose the road to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. Taking Macclesfield and Congleton in his way, on the 4th of December he entered the town of Derby, where his father was proclaimed with great solemnity. He had now advanced to within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with consternation, and had he proceeded might have made himself master of it, and been joined by a considerable number of his friends, who impatiently waited for his approach.

Though success had hitherto attended him, Charles however found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He was now in the heart of England, and, except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf. The Welch took no step to excite an insurrection in his favour; the French made no attempt towards an invasion; the highland chiefs began to murmur and he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He could scarcely hope

to proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and a defeat would have been attended with inevitable ruin, both to himself and his followers. Besides this, he had received information, that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the northern parts, superior in number to those by whom he was attended.

Having called a council at Derby, and proposed to advance towards London, this plan was very strongly supported by Lord Nairn; but after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should return to Scotland with all possible expedition. They abandoned Derby, therefore, on the 6th of December, early in the morning, and retreated the same way by which they had advanced. On the 9th, their advanced guard reached Manchester, and entering Preston on the 12th, they continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when informed of their return, detached some horse and dragoons in pursuit of them while General Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their way; but at Wakefield he understood they had already reached Wigan; he therefore repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after detaching General Oglethorpe, with his

horse and dragoons, to join those that had been sent off from the Duke's army. They pursued with much alacrity, and having overtaken the rear of the rebel army, had a few skirmishes in Lancashire. Though the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed, by the Duke's order, to harass them in their march, and though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country, they retreated very regularly with their small train of Artillery. On the 19th of the month the highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in it were left at their own desire, after which Charles reinforced the garrison of the place, and crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland ; having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats, perhaps ever performed.—They committed no violence nor outrage, and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Though the weather was excessively cold, and though they must have been exposed to much hunger and fatigue, they left no sick, and lost only a few stragglers, but retired in good order, carrying off their cannon in the face of the enemy. The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army, on the 21st day of December ; and on the 30th, the whole garrison surrendered by a kind

of capitulation with the Duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were confined in different gaols in England, and the Duke returned to London.

Charles proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to government. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the Dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as General of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was supplied with a small train of artillery. Having found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, they fortified that harbour with the guns, and they had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They likewise took possession of Dundee, Dunblaine, Down castle, and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon, who remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders, in the service of his Ma-

jesty, conveyed provisions to Fort Augustus and Fort William, and secured the person of Lord Lovat; but this cunning veteran found means to escape. Charles being joined by Lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which General Blakeney commanded; but his people not being much used to enterprises of this kind, they made very little progress in their operations.

By this time a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under General Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling Castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the 13th of January. Next day his army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned at Bannockburn. On the 17th day of the month they began their march in two columns to attack the King's forces, and had forded the water of Cawen within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention; but such was his obstinacy or contempt of the enemy, that he paid no attention to the repeated intelligence he received of their motions, being firmly persuaded that they would not venture to hazard an engagement. Perceiving, however, that they had got possession of a rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive the enemy from

their post, while he formed his infantry in the order of battle.

The Highlanders, in the mean time, kept up so close a fire, and took so good aim, that the assailants being soon broken, retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, who were likewise incommoded by the wind and the rain beating with great violence in their faces. Some of the dragoons rallied, and again advanced to the charge with part of the infantry, which had not been engaged; upon which Charles marched up at the head of his corps de reserve consisting of the regiment of Lord John Drummond, and the Irish pikets. These joining the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time, and they again disordered the foot in their retreat, so that the King's troops, at length, set fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and artillery; the last of which never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation. Few or none of them, perhaps, would have escaped, had not General Huske and Brigadier Cholmondeley rallied part of some regiments, and made a gallant resistance.

for a little time, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, whence they retired in confusion to Edinburgh.

It was now judged necessary by the King's Ministers that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a General in whom the soldiers could confide; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. Besides being universally beloved by the troops, it was suggested that the appearance of a prince of the Blood in Scotland, might have a favourable effect on the minds of the people in that kingdom: he therefore began to make preparations for his northern expedition. In the mean while, the French Minister at the Hague having represented to the States General that the auxiliaries they had sent into Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain period, the States thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his Most Christian Majesty. In the room of these troops, six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their Prince Frederick of Hesse, son-in law to his Britannic Majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of

the troops at Edinburgh; consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve of Highlanders, from Argyleshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his Royal Highness began his march to Linlithgow, and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling Castle, not only abandoned that enterprise, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation, while Charles found great difficulty in maintaining his troops, as that part of the country was quite exhausted. Hoping, however, to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain, he retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned on his approach. The fort surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head quarters. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth with the Hessian battalions advanced with his army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, and other persons of distinction. While he remained in this place, the rebels surprised, at the village of Keith, a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, who were all either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of the militia met with the same fate in

different places. Charles having ordered his forces to assemble, proposed marching to Aberdeen, to attack the Duke of Cumberland; but in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the King's garrison in Fort William, he resolved previously to reduce the fortress. The siege was accordingly undertaken by Brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service; but the place was so bravely defended by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April it was thought proper to relinquish the enterprise.

In the beginning of April, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the 12th passed the river Spey, without any opposition from the rebels, though a considerable body of them made their appearance on the other side. His Royal Highness then proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention of making an attack. Charles' design was to march in the night time, and to surprise the Duke's army at the break of day. For this purpose, the English camp had been reconnoitred, and on the night of the 15th, the Highland army began to march in two columns. They intended to surround the enemy, and at-

tack them in all quarters, but the length of the columns impeded their march, so that they were obliged to make many halts. The men, who had been under arms all the preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue; so that these disadvantages retarded them greatly, and rendered it impossible for them to reach the Duke's camp before sun-rise. Their scheme being thus frustrated, Charles, with great reluctance, followed the advice of his general officers, and returned to Culloden, where, as soon as he arrived, great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provisions, and many, overcome by weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repose however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner, for Charles receiving intelligence that the enemy were advancing in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose.

On the 16th of April, the Duke having made every necessary disposition, decamped early from Nairn, and after a march of Nine miles, perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of between four and five thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with a few pieces of artillery. His Royal Highness im-

mediately formed his troops, who were more numerous, into three lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution, but that of the King's army made prodigious slaughter among the enemy. Being severely galled by this fire, about 5 hundred of the clans, charged the Duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity and courage. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column, but two battalions advancing from the second line sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career by a severe fire, which killed a great number of them. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, with the Argyleshire militia, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels, sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French piquets on their left covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a regular and well directed fire, and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in great regularity with their bagpipes playing before them, and Charles' standard displayed; the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their chief was with great difficulty prevailed on

to retreat. In less than half an hour they were totally defeated, and the field covered with slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies, and a great many people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed in the hurry of pursuit. Twelve hundred of the rebels were slain or wounded in the field, or in their flight. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken, and in a few days Lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, to whom he presented himself for that purpose. Thus vanished, in the short space of one hour, all the hopes of the young adventurer, and thus was a dangerous rebellion entirely extinguished.

When Charles saw the battle irrecoverably lost, he retired over the water to Nairn, where stopping to take a view of the field of battle, he was joined by some of his people that had fled the same way. After this he paid a private visit to old Lovat, in hopes that some plan might be concerted for his relief; but finding that nothing was to be done, it was resolved by his friends that they should keep at as great a distance from the enemy as possible. Sullivan, his faithful adherent, was of opinion, that they ought to go to Glengary, being persuaded that the enemy had not taken that route. They accordingly set out, and were received with much cordiality by Mr.

M'Donald, with whom Charles continued some time, reflecting on the miseries and misfortunes which he had brought upon his followers, and upon those which he was likely to experience before he could reach a place of safety. Several of the Chiefs, who visited him in his concealment in Glengary Castle, struck with his melanchoaly situation, began to devise some scheme for retrieving his affairs; and for this purpose it was suggested, that the clans should continue on the hills, till they could by some trusty messenger inform the Court of Versailles of the true state of his army. This plan might in all probability have been agreed to, had they been able to procure money for the subsistence of those troops; but as this was impracticable, the proposal was dropped.

ON the 23d of April, Charles being informed that General Campbell was on his march for Inverness, with a large body of the Argyleshire militia, he, with a few of the Chiefs, his two favourites Sheridan and Sullivan, and about forty others, marched to Achnacarrie, where they had an interview with Lochiel; at a fresh consultation it was agreed that this Chief, with the Camerons and the M' Donalds, should keep in a body, and favour any landing of succour from France; while Charles, with his friends Sullivan, Sheri-

dan, and some others, should endeavour to raise such a force, as with reinforcements from abroad, might enable him to make a stand till more assistance could be procured. Next morning they set out for Glenphillin, where at his first landing, the Camerons erected his standard. Here they made a cave the place of their residence, and were provided with every thing necessary for life ; but Charles being uneasy in his mind, intimated a desire to be gone ; and accordingly, after remaining three days, they set out for the isles.

About this time, that is, the beginning of May, two French men of war appearing on the coast, they were attacked by the Grey hound and two sloops, which they obliged to sheer off, and having landed a considerable quantity of money and ammunition, took on board the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and several other officers, and conveyed them all to France except the Duke of Perth, who died on his passage. Charles being informed of this adventure, was exceedingly uneasy that he had missed the opportunity of escaping in them, and the more so, as he understood they had landed 40,000 louis-d'ors, 35,000 of which had fallen into the hands of a person in whom he placed very little confidence.

Charles now finding that his affairs grew every

day more and more desperate, that he was surrounded by enemies, and in continual danger of falling into their hands, consented to follow the advice given him by Sullivan of yielding to his misfortunes, so far as to consult his own safety. He therefore resolved to go in quest of a boat, to carry him over to the island of Lewis, where he entertained some hopes of finding a vessel to transport him to France. When they reached the sea shore, they could find no boats, as the M' Donalds of Clanronald's family had seized on all they could meet with, in order to transport themselves to South Uist and the boats were not yet returned. This obliged them to retire to the mountains, in which they wandered about for three days and nights. A boat, however, returning from South Uist, to fetch more of their people that were missing, Charles; who observed it, immediately hastened to the shore, and raising a signal, the crew, who imagined that it was made by some of their party in distress, put into a small creek to the westward of Barrisdale, and taking him and his party on board, sailed directly to South Uist; and night coming on, they were soon out of sight.

Being out at sea, some of the crew proposed to sail towards a small island called Canna, lying to the westward of Mull, and Charles knowing that

the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, approved of the motion. Here they landed, and were received by the people with great hospitality ; from thence they proceeded to South Uist, where after having undergone many hardships ; he was conducted by Flora M' Donald, disguised in women's apparel to the Laird of M' Kinnon's house, where she left him, and returned home.

After this he underwent many hardships and narrow escapes ; he and Lochiel embarked on the 20th of September, in a privateer of St. Malo, hired by Sheridan and some other adherents, having set Sail for France, they passed unseen, under cover of a thick fog, through a British squadron, and after being chased by two English Ships of war, he arrived in France where he remained till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was concluded in 1748, when he was Exiled from France, and repaired to Avigon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the Pope's Legate, at this place however he remained only a few months, and then went to Leige, and assumed the title of Baron de Montgomerie.

About the Year 1757, he settled at Bouillon, (a town in France,) where he resided till the death of his father, when he went to Rome.

In the begining of the year 1766, soon after death of his father, Charles returned to

Rome, and had his audience of the pope on the 19th of January; but his holiness, refused to acknowledge him by his father's title. He left Rome and retired to Florence, where he lived on a small revenue allowed him by his brother.

In the year 1772 he married the Princess of Stolberg, a German lady. This union however, to whatever cause it might have been owing, was not attended with that happiness which is generally expected in the married state, for she separated from him a few years after, and the breach between them was never made up.

After this period Charles seems to have sunk into insignificance and oblivion; and he lived almost entirely forgotten, till the period of his death, which happened at Rome, on the 31st of January, 1788, being then in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his will he made his natural daughter, whom he had by a Scots lady of an ancient family, and whom, in virtue of his pretended royal power as King of Britain, he created Duchess of Albany, sole heiress of all his property, which was very considerable.

His remains were interred with great pomp and ceremony in the church of Frescati, a town twelve miles from Rome, of which his brother the Cardinal was Bishop. The funeral service was performed on the 3d of February by his brother.